

## Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 192481

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:PFOR, CSCE

SUBJECT: CSCE: MESSAGE FROM THE SECRETARY TO FOREIGN  
MINISTER GENSCHER

PLEASE DELIVER FOLLOWING PERSONAL MESSAGE FROM THE  
SECRETARY TO FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER:

BEGIN TEXT

DEAR MR. MINISTER: AS WE DISCUSSED DURING YOUR RECENT  
VISIT, WE CONTINUE TO ATTACH IMPORTANCE TO EFFORTS BY THE  
ALLIES TO REACH EARLY AGREEMENT ON ACCEPTABLE RESULTS FOR  
STAGE II OF CSCE. IN RECENT ALLIED DISCUSSIONS IN GENEVA  
AND NATO, WE APPRECIATED THE INTEREST SHOWN IN OUR  
PROPOSAL FOR MORE PRECISELY DEFINING ALLIED CSCE OBJECTIVES.  
BUT WE REGRETTED THAT MOST DID NOT SHARE OUR VIEW THAT THE  
ALLIES SHOULD FURTHER REFINE THEIR CSCE POSITIONS IN TIME  
TO PRESENT THEM WHEN CSCE RESUMES IN EARLY SEPTEMBER.  
NONETHELESS, WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT THE ALLIED  
NEGOTIATING POSITION WOULD BE SIGNIFICANTLY STRENGTHENED  
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IF THE ALLIES WERE IN A POSITION, SOON AFTER RESUMPTION OF

CSCE, TO STATE CLEARLY OUR OBJECTIVES SO THAT THE EASTERN PARTICIPANTS CAN CONSIDER THE CONCESSIONS THEY WOULD NEED TO MAKE TO MEET ALLIED CONCERNS.

ACCORDINGLY, I WOULD BE GRATEFUL FOR YOUR PERSONAL CONSIDERATION OF SPECIFIC STEPS TO CARRY FORWARD ALLIED EFFORTS TO DEFINE THEIR POSITIONS MORE CLEARLY, PARTICULARLY WITH REGARD TO BASKET 3 ISSUES AND CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES. CONCERNING OTHER ASPECTS OF CSCE, I BELIEVE THAT A WIDE MEASURE OF ALLIED CONSENSUS ALREADY EXISTS, AND THAT THE EAST IS AWARE OF OUR OBJECTIVES.

WITH RESPECT TO BASKET 3, WE WOULD APPRECIATE PARTICULARLY HAVING YOUR EARLY REACTIONS TO THE FOUR REVISED TEXTS WE CIRCULATED TO THE ALLIES IN GENEVA. THESE TEXTS, WHICH DEAL WITH WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS, THE RIGHT TO TRAVEL, BROADCAST AND FILMED INFORMATION, AND ACCESS TO READING ROOMS, REFLECT OUR EFFORT TO BALANCE BASIC ALLIED OBJECTIVES AGAINST THE LIMITATIONS ON SOVIET FLEXIBILITY IN THESE MATTERS, AND TO DEVISE FORMULATIONS OFFERING A BASIS FOR REASONABLE COMPROMISE.

FURTHER, I WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR CONSIDERATION OF WAYS TO CARRY FORWARD NATO DISCUSSIONS OF COMPROMISE APPROACHES TO THE ISSUES INVOLVED IN CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES. HERE AGAIN, WE BELIEVE THAT REALISTIC COMPROMISES BETWEEN THE ALLIED AND SOVIET POSITIONS OFFER THE BEST ROUTE TOWARD MUTUALLY SATISFACTORY AGREEMENT. AMBASSADOR SHERER ALREADY HAS SPELLED OUT IN DETAIL OUR VIEWS ON SUCH COMPROMISES, WHICH ARE NOW UNDER DISCUSSION IN NATO'S POLITICAL COMMITTEE.

FURTHER CONSULTATIONS IN NATO, INCLUDING WHEN THE COUNCIL MEETS WITH HEADS OF CSCE DELEGATIONS IN SEPTEMBER, AND DISCUSSIONS AMONG OUR REPRESENTATIVES AT GENEVA WILL ALLOW US, I HOPE, TO RECORD EARLY PROGRESS IN REACHING AGREEMENT ON POSITIONS TO BE TAKEN BY THE ALLIES IN CSCE THIS FALL. MOREOVER, WE WILL HAVE A CHANCE TO REVIEW CSCE OBJECTIVES WHEN WE MEET IN NEW YORK IN CONNECTION WITH THE OPENING OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL CONFIDENTIAL

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ASSEMBLY.

I WOULD PERSONALLY APPRECIATE YOUR VIEWS AS I BELIEVE THIS IS THE BEST WAY TO PROCEED. WARM REGARDS, HENRY A. KISSINGER.

END TEXT. INGERSOLL

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